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THE DUTCH COMMUNITIES OF CHICAGO

THE DUTCH COMMUNITIES OF CHICAGO

By

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PROF. AMRY VANDENBOSCH *of the University of Kentucky, while a student at the University of Chicago, and a member of the local Knickerbocker Society, wrote, as a thesis, a paper on the "Dutch Communities of Chicago." The paper has been read by many of the Society and others with benefit and interest. In order that the results of his study should not be lost to posterity and to give it the publicity it deserves, the Knickerbocker Society is publishing this paper. The story is not intended to be exhaustive as the author well notes in his preface. In the text reference is made to a few notes written by the Committee on Publication, which notes can be found on page 101. The book should contain biographies and portraits of the Dutch pioneers, possibly pictures of places of interest. It is hoped that this publication may lead to further efforts in that direction.*

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION,
THE KNICKERBOCKER SOCIETY OF CHICAGO.

December, 1927.

CONTENTS

Preface vii

I. Introduction 1

II. Immigration and General History of the Communities 5

III. Churches and Religious Life 18

IV. Schools and Education 39

V. Politics and Civic Life 51

VI. Journalism 61

VII. Societies and Organizations 65

VIII. Occupational Selection 75

IX. Social and Family Life 78

X. The Future of the Communities 93

Notes 101

Members, Knickerbocker Society of Chicago 102-3

PREFACE

DURING a stay of several years in Chicago I became very much interested in the Dutch communities dealt with in this study. I was born and raised near the heart of the Old Dutch Settlement in Western Michigan and had spent several years in Grand Rapids, so I was intimately acquainted with the life of the Dutch people in Michigan, but conditions in the Dutch communities in Chicago, buried in the heart of a great metropolitan area, were so vastly different from conditions in the communities I had previously been acquainted with that my interest was at once aroused. This monograph is the result of that interest, though by no means does it represent an adequate study of this interesting subject. The only justification for its publication is the complete absence of any other study of its kind. It may also serve as a starting point for a more thorough study, which I hope will some day be undertaken by some person better qualified for this kind of a task. The monograph was written in the spring of 1924, and first appeared in serial form in *Onze Toekomst* in the fall of 1925.

A. VANDENBOSCH.

Iowa State College, April, 1926.

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting sociological groups in Chicago is that of the Dutch. The 1920 census shows that of the population of the state of Illinois there were 14,344 persons born in the Netherlands and of this number 11,255 were residents of Cook county. Previous census reports give figures showing those also born in this country but of foreign born parents. According to the last five federal census reports the number of Hollanders in Chicago, foreign born and of foreign born parents, was as follows: 1870—1,640; 1880—2,045; 1890—5,420; 1900—18,555; 1910—20,456; and for 1920 similar figures have been computed to be 22,163.[1] The annexation of Roseland during the decade 1890-1900 accounts for the unusually large increase in this period.

1. Industrial Department, Chicago Association of Commerce, in *Chicago Commerce,* August 18, 1923.

In 1910 the Dutch constituted 1.2 per cent of the total foreign born in Chicago and only 0.82 percent in 1920 indicating that they form a minor racial group. However, from a sociological point of view the Dutch are more important than the foregoing figures would seem to indicate, because they are still concentrated in a few localities. That the Dutch in spite of their relatively small numbers continue to live in these communities to the third and fourth generation is in large part due to their great attachment to the church, as well as to their strong race consciousness. Just how great a percentage of the Dutch people live in the Dutch communities can be gathered from the fact that statistics, compiled from the church directories, show some 14,000 people affiliated with the different Holland-American churches in Chicago. For Cook county the number is over 17,000.

Of the 8,843 foreign born Dutch in Chicago in 1920, 3,084 were found in the ninth ward (old ward system), 1,597 in the thirty-second ward, 524 in the tenth ward, 370 in the thirty-first ward, 348 in the twenty-ninth ward, 331 in the thirty-third ward, 252 in the thirty-fifth ward, and 242 in the eleventh ward. The rest are scattered over the remaining wards.

None of the three distinct Dutch communities in Chicago falls wholly within the bounds of a single ward, but figures compiled from the church

directories give a fair estimate of the number of people living in each of these communities. There are slightly over 7,000 persons belonging to the Dutch churches of Roseland. (In members are included both baptized and communicant.) Adding twenty-five per cent to this number to cover those who do not belong to any church and those who belong to other churches the result is something like 8,750 Dutch people in the Roseland community. By the same method of calculation the number of people in the Englewood community must be about 3,500 and in the West Side community, 4,200. In all the figures given on the population of the different communities, persons of the second, third, and even fourth generations are included in the term Dutch people.

South of Chicago there are two other small colonies. About ten miles southeast of Roseland is the original Dutch settlement in the vicinity of Chicago, that is South Holland, having a church population of 2,000. About five miles south of Hammond on the state line, there is another small colony of truck farmers with a church population of about 1,800.

The Dutch community in Roseland is not coextensive with the district generally known by that name. The boundaries of Roseland are 99th street on the north, the Illinois Central Railroad on the east, 115th street on the south, and the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad on the

west. The boundaries of the Dutch community are Michigan avenue, 113th street, Halsted street, and 103rd street. The region between the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad and Halsted street is open territory for the most part and is devoted to truck farming. So also the truck farming territory south and east of the city, known as Riverdale, is settled mostly by the Dutch. And within the last few years many Dutch families, looking for a better residential district, have moved into the district known as Sheldon Heights. The boundaries of this new residential district are Stewart avenue, 117th, Halsted, and 111th streets.

The Englewood community is composed of two slightly separated communities. The largest one is the district included between Halsted, Loomis, 75th, and 66th streets. The smaller community is found a little farther north and is bounded by 60th, 63rd, May, and Peoria streets. The larger one to the south is the settlement of the greatest concentration of Dutch in the city. There are blocks almost exclusively inhabited by the Dutch such as the ten blocks between 71st, 73rd, Green, and May streets where there are some 170 Dutch families.

On the west side the district of greatest concentration is that included between 13th, 15th, Loomis, and Lincoln streets. Within these dozen blocks there are some 330 Dutch families with a

total population of about 1,700. This community is in almost every respect the most interesting of them all. There are 2,400 more Dutch people scattered over a belt from Van Buren street to 18th street and extending west into Cicero and Oak Park. Besides the above mentioned communities there are several very small colonies of truck farmers on the outskirts of the city at Summit, Oak Lawn, Evergreen Park, and Mt. Greenwood.

II. IMMIGRATION AND GENERAL HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITIES

The general revolutionary movement in Europe in the late forties did not result in anything like a decisive or even an open conflict in the Netherlands, but it did produce far reaching results. With the restoration in 1814, the Netherlands settled down to a period of extreme reaction under the rule of the House of Orange, now raised to the ranks of the monarchs. The reaction was not only political, but it also extended to the church. Church government was placed under royal control and the property of the church transferred to the state. The state appointed and salaried the clergy and controlled the education of the clergy. Theological training at state universities under theological professors declared state officers was compulsory.

Nor did the religious reaction stop here. Religious freedom, which had been the enlightened policy of Holland for centuries, almost completely disappeared. Against the dissenters from the state church several articles of the penal code of the Code Napoleon, which had been in force during the French occupation, were revived. All association of more than twenty persons, without the consent of the government, whether for religious, political or other purposes, was strictly prohibited. Associations formed without the consent of the government were at once dissolved and the leaders punished with heavy fines. Not only that, but the person granting or consenting to the use of his house for such meetings was also fined.

But a greater cause of religious discontent than the change of church control from spiritual and democratic control to political and aristocratic domination, was the change in the spiritual life and theology of the church. The church in the Netherlands, as the church in other European countries at the time, came under the influence of rationalism and dead orthodoxy.

Against these conditions a protest movement soon developed. At this time there was a revival of Calvinism in Geneva and certain students in the universities of the Netherlands came under its influence, and thus for a second time in its history, the Netherlands came under the strong re-

ligious influence of Geneva. At the University of Leiden a small club was formed under the leadership of Hendrik Peter Scholte. Another leading member of the club was Albertus van Raalte. These men later became leaders of the secession from the state church, and each after several years became the leader of a party of emigrants to the United States.

The spiritual revival gained moment, small congregations were formed, and in 1834 the formal secession occurred. However, this did not take place without continued and bitter persecutions. The leaders of the movement were excommunicated from the church and the separatists meetings were dispersed. Meetings were held in private houses and in barns. The people were fined and imprisoned. As a last resort the government quartered troops in the homes of the seceders to intimidate them. But the movement only took on added impetus, and in the end the government was compelled to give its recognition to the secession by royal decree in 1839.

However petty persecutions continued. The people were also dissatisfied with the non-religious character of the education given in the state schools. They wished to establish their own Christian schools, but the government would not give its consent to this. Thus another cause of religious and political discontent was added to a

people that were already sorely tried. They began to think of emigrating.

Added to the ecclesiastical and political reasons for emigrating was the economic. The war with Belgium had created an enormous national debt; commerce and industry were almost stagnant; wages were low; severe crop failures occurred in 1843; and many cattle were lost through pest. The Dutch government was expending upon the poor $8,000,000 annually.

Most of the historians and writers on the Dutch immigration of 1847-8 have stressed the religious causes of the migration. This is the view of Versteeg,[1] an early historian of the Movement, and of Miss Pieters in a recent Columbia University doctoral dissertation.[2] Prof. Barnouw, of Columbia University (holder of the Queen Wilhelmina professorship of Dutch History, Literature, and Art) in a review of Miss Pieters' book, takes the position that the desire for religious freedom was not as powerful a motive for emigrating as was the economic depression of the time.[3]

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1. *De Pelgrim Vaders van het Westen,* Grand Rapids, 1886.

2. *A Dutch Settlement in Michigan,* published by Eerdmans-Sevensma Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1923.

3. *Holland and Her Colonies,* June 1923. Besides the studies already mentioned there are: H. Beets, *De Chr. Geref. Kerk in Noord Amerika* (1918), and *The Christian Reformed Church* (1923); Dosker, *Levensschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D.D.* (1893); Vanderzee, *The Hollanders of Iowa.* Most of these writers take the view that the main reason for migrating was religious discontent. However, Dr. Beets in his second book, *The Christian Reformed Church,* states that the hard times was a more prominent and dominant cause than the religious.

"The settlers were seceders from the Dutch Reformed church in the Netherlands. They claimed, in fact, to constitute that church in its pure, original state, whereas the church from which they seceded was, in their eyes, an unwarrantable innovation. The author seems to attach greater weight to their longing for religious freedom as the motive for emigrating than to the economic depression of those days, which caused poverty and discontent all over Europe, and brought unrest and revolution in its wake. But the religious question alone would hardly have driven them off the country, whereas want and starvation were, in themselves, sufficient inducements to seek a more promising existence in the New World. Of the two combined motives, the economic one was doubtless the more powerful, but the success of the settlement is, indeed, largely due to the fact that these people were sustained and held together in the first years of hardship, by their common belief and religious fervor."

Prof. Henry Lucas of the University of Washington, who has made an intensive study of the problem, states the causes of the migration to have been due to: first, the ecclesiastical discontent; secondly, the inability to educate their children in their own Christian schools; thirdly, the general unfavorable economic conditions; and fourthly, successive failures of the potato crop.[1]

The leaders of the seceding groups proposed migrating to some place where there would be greater religious freedom and where there would be better material conditions. Due to their desire to keep their old allegiance, Java was the first

1. "The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan," *Michigan Historical Magazine,* Vol. 6, No. 4. Prof. Lucas is preparing for publication a study of the Hollanders in the United States.

choice. The government did not help the project, nor did it guarantee a greater religious freedom than in the home territory. South Africa was talked of, but soon abandoned. The United States was finally decided upon.

Associations for the purposes of financing and directing the emigration were formed and an emigration bureau established. Catholics and unbelievers were not accepted as members of these associations. The emigration proceeded largely in congregational groups. The Protestants migrated in two separate groups. One group under the leadership of Dr. Scholte settled at Pella, Iowa, in 1847. This became the center of a flourishing Dutch colony, and from it there migrated new groups to establish the Dutch colony in northwestern Iowa in the late seventies and eighties. Smaller Dutch settlements have since sprung up in all of the western states.

Dr. A. C. Van Raalte, another of the leaders of the secession, led a colony in the same year to make a settlement on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan, the present sight of Holland, Michigan. This was to become the largest of all the Dutch settlements of the later immigration in the United States. The 1920 census gives 33,033 as the number of native or foreign born Hollanders in Michigan. In Grand Rapids alone there are over 50,000 people of Dutch stock. So also in Muskegon and

Kalamazoo the Dutch form the largest single element in the population.

Besides these two Protestant colonies, there was also a Catholic emigration movement, leading to a settlement in the Fox River Valley in Wisconsin, between Lake Winnebago and Green Bay. The leader of this movement and the father of this settlement was Father Theodore van der Broek, a Dutch Dominican, who had spent seventeen years in missionary work among the Indians of the Middle West. Returning to the Netherlands he organized a number of Catholic Hollanders for the purpose of migrating to the United States. In March, 1848, he set out with three shiploads of people. These people became the nucleus of the Fox River settlement which is still today the center of Dutch Catholic colonization in the United States.

Aside from these larger organized groups of Dutch immigrants of those years, there came many smaller groups and often single families, to settle wherever the circumstances of the moment might dictate. Thus as early as 1845 several families had settled in Vandalia, Illinois, and in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In a similar manner several Dutch families made a settlement which was then about 25 miles south of Chicago. The families settling there in that year were those of John Kallowingeo, Henry De Jong, R. Van Vuuren, Gouwen and Benslip. The settlement was named

South Holland, after the province from which the settlers came in the Netherlands.

In the spring of 1849 several families in the province of North Holland banded together to migrate to the United States. This group of families were to form the first Dutch settlement of what is now Chicago, but which was then about 12 miles from the city. The following with their families formed the body of the colonists: Jacob De Jonge, Peter De Jonge, Cornelius Kuyper, Jan Jonker, Johannes Ambuul, John Bras, Peter Dalenberg, Jan Ton, Klaas Dalenberg, Harke Eenigenberg, Leendert van der Sijde, Peter Oudendyk, Cornelius Dalenberg, Cornelius Hoogendonk.

From North Holland they went to Rotterdam and from there set sail to the Havre, France, and there boarded vessel for the United States. On board they discovered several families from Zeeland. Asiatic cholera broke out on the voyage and 17 died. From New York they went up the Hudson to Troy, and from there down the Erie Canal to Buffalo. At Buffalo the company boarded the steamboat Key Stone State, and by way of the Great Lakes reached Chicago.

The leaders of the company had heard of the settlement made two years before at Low Prairie, called South Holland by the Dutch themselves. A delegation was sent out by the company to make a survey of the settlement and of the quality of the land, and report on the general advisability of

settling there. On the return trip they came along the ridge which was then and for many years following called High Prairie, and which is the present sight of Roseland. They were especially attracted by the tall grass and wild flowers growing in the marsh around Calumet Lake. The country was unsettled except for one American family. The delegation decided that this was a good place to make a settlement, and immediately proceeded to return to Chicago and bring back their families. One hundred sixty acres was bought between 103rd and 111th streets at five dollars per acre. This was divided into smaller plots and allotted to the different families.

The nearest store was at Blue Island; the railroad did not come for three years; and for years the mail was received at Chicago. The settlers made their living by cattle raising and by selling cheese and butter. At first they went to church at South Holland, but in the fall, September 23, 1849, a church with eighteen members was organized and a building was erected in 1850. Meester De Jong taught the children and on Sundays read the sermons. On September 10, 1850, the Rev. K. C. Klijn came from Milwaukee to baptize the first children in the congregation. The first minister was Rev. M. A. Ypma, of Graafschap, Michigan, and was installed as pastor on February 25, 1855, serving the High and Low Prairie congregations on alternate Sundays. A larger church

was needed and in 1855 a new church was built.

Immigration from the Fatherland to the High Prairie settlement continued and increased in numbers. Stores were set up, a blacksmith shop was opened, and in 1861 Goris Van der Syde, who for many years had conducted the general store in the settlement, was appointed the first post master. The name "Hope" was given to the post office, but in 1873 the name was changed to Roseland. However, in popular parlance it continued to be known for many years as the Holland settlement. A very interesting description of the settlement is found in Andreas' *History of Cook County,* published in 1884. Either the description was taken out of story book, or the community became greatly changed for the worse by the coming of the factories.

"The boundaries of the hamlet are Halsted street, Indiana Avenue, and Ninety-ninth and One Hundred and Fifteenth streets. Its inhabitants are sturdy, phlegmatic, industrious natives of Holland; and standing by some of the little squat small windowed houses, hearing the high-Dutch gutturals, seeing the pollards and rectangular inclosures, the square faced, wooden-shoed, tow-headed little Dutchmen; in fact, observing the 'tout ensemble' would cause one to fancy themselves rather near Amsterdam than fifteen miles from Chicago. Through the land of the roses run seven lines of railroads, and twelve depots are easily accessible from its vicinity. The first plat of the village was made in 1873-74 by Goris Van der Syde and John Ton; Peter Dalenberg next subdivided a tract, and then James H. and Arthur Van Vlissingen surveyed the main subdivisions and placed some four hundred acres of their own on the market; these surveyed tracts constitute

Roseland. . . . There are still numbers of antique houses that might have been erected forty years ago, in Roseland; their age is manifest from the peculiar, small window-panes, inserted when glass commanded a much higher rate on the market than now, and a whole window-light of which glass was about the size of a page of note paper."[1]

This may have been a good description of Roseland forty years ago but certainly does not fit it now. The coming of great industrial plants transformed the community from a slow Dutch town into a growing, pushing, industrial city. There are no industries in the immediate community, but along the Illinois Central railroad and along Calumet Lake there are many and very large factories, employing thousands of men. There are the Pullman company factories employing over 10,000 men; the Illinois Central shops at Burnside employing about 5,000 men; the Plano works of the International Harvester Co. with about 2,000 employees; and the Sherwin-Williams plant employing another 1,000, and a dozen other large factories. The result has of course been that the Dutch have lost their predominant position in the population of the community, and with the exception of a restricted

1. pp. 607-609. Most of the information was obtained from the papers of Mrs. Frederick Jensen, the historian of the Ton family. A fairly full and very accurate record has been kept by the family since its arrival in this country as one of the original settlers of Roseland. The family was the first to organize under the laws of the state. A family picnic is held every summer. A record is kept of every member of the family. The family now numbers over eight hundred and its members are found in every state in the union.

area within the original Dutch territory, for most of them were truck farmers and thus covered a considerable territory surrounding the town proper, have become a minor national group. This can be seen from the figures for the ninth ward as prepared by the Industrial Department of the Chicago Association of Commerce, which are based on the 1920 census. Roughly the boundaries of the Ninth ward are 75th Street and 138th Street, Stewart and Stony Island Avenues. This of course compromises the district between 75th and 85th Streets which never was Dutch territory. However the predominating nationalities according to the above study are as follows: American, 17.60%; Polish, 11.30%; Irish, 10.90%; Swedish, 8.43%; and the Dutch 8.37%. Under the people tabulated as American there must be a large number of Dutch stock, because they run into the third and even fourth generation.

It was natural that with two Dutch settlements already established near Chicago, many Dutch families would soon come to live within the great, growing city itself. A little Dutch colony grew up around Harrison and May Streets. A reformed church was organized in 1852 by Dr. Van Raalte, the leader of the Western Michigan colony. The colony grew through a steady but small stream of immigration from the Netherlands until in 1868 the colony received a marked accession. In that year there came to the pastorate of

1969

the little Dutch Reformed church Rev. Bernardus De Bey from the province of Groningen, Netherlands. With him came almost half of his congregation. Rev. De Bey was an exceptional leader of men. He had been one of the moving spirits in the University of Groningen, serving as procurator after his graduation and was a leader of the nonconformist group. When another famine struck Holland in 1867 he determined to leave for the United States. For twenty-five years Rev. De Bey was the leader and counselor of the Dutch in Chicago and a man of great influence on the Dutch throughout the west.

Many of Rev. De Bey's people followed him in the succeeding years, and the De Bey home was the headquarters of these immigrants upon their arrival in this country. The De Bey family was wealthy and these immigrants remained in the parsonage until they found employment, and many were helped to start little businesses of their own by loans from Rev. De Bey. Some of these people became leading business men in the city.

With the growth of the city the center of the Dutch colony moved fifteen blocks southwest to Fourteenth street and Ashland avenue, which is still the heart of a small Dutch community. The second and third generations move out of this community, especially if they rise in the social scale. They move farther to the west, around

Douglas Park, and even to Cicero and Oak Park. So also migrations from this colony and the Roseland colony led to the establishment of the Dutch settlement in Englewood. The approximate date of the establishment of the Englewood settlement can be ascertained from the year of the organization of the first churches. The First Reformed church of Englewood, corner 62nd and Peoria streets, was organized in 1886, and the First Christian Reformed church, 71st street near Peoria, the year following. So also came the small truck farming communities on the outskirts of the city as the Dutch population increased.

III. CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

People coming into small Dutch communities, too small to support even one church well, are surprised to find two struggling churches side by side. Upon inquiry as to the theological differences between the two churches, they are likely to become still more amazed, for the outsider is unable to detect any real difference. Yet until quite recently the differences in the theological tenets of the churches have been regarded very seriously by the religious Dutch people.

The oldest Dutch church body in this country is the Reformed church in America, popularly known as the Dutch Reformed Church. The first church of the denomination was organized in

New York in 1628, and is thus one of the very oldest Protestant churches on the continent. The Dutch immigrants of the 17th and 18th centuries settled largely in New York and New Jersey, and about two-thirds of the membership of the Reformed church is centered in these two states. Most of these old eastern churches have lost all traces of their Dutch origin, having now a large admixture of people other than of Dutch descent and are not to be distinguished from the Presbyterian churches in this country.

When Van Raalte led his people to Michigan in 1847, he was helped on his way by the valuable assistance of New Yorkers of Dutch descent. This at once established a close connection between the church in the east and the young colony in the west, and in 1850 the newly founded western churches united with the old church body in the east. The churches of Dr. Scholte's colony in Iowa followed some time after, but not without some dissension, for Dr. Scholte was very independent in his religious views, and was loath to see his churches lose their ecclesiastical freedom by uniting with a larger church body.

The union of the young churches of the west with the old church of the east seems to have been put through very hastily, and by the action of a few leaders. Dissatisfaction with the union was manifested from the first and led to a secession in 1857. The seceding churches called them-

selves the Christian Reformed church. The people of Dutch descent in the west are about equally divided between these two church bodies, each having about 100,000 members (including members by baptism as well as by confession).

Some of the causes leading to the secession are quite apparent. The Reformed church in the east was already over two hundred years old when the churches of the second Dutch immigration were founded. They had received little immigration from Holland since 1664, when the Dutch surrendered New York to Great Britain, and these churches had, especially since the Revolutionary war, become thoroughly Americanized. Naturally the Reformed church in the east was quite different from the Reformed churches in the west, probably not so much in formal doctrine as in language, customs, and spirit. So far as the new immigrants in the west were concerned, the Reformed church in the east was no different from the Presbyterian church.

More than that, even among the dissenters in the mother country there had sprung up differences, and these differences were carried over to this country by the different factions. These differences, according to Dr. Beets, had a psychological basis.[1] He discovers in the people of the different provinces different characteristics. The

1. *De Chr. Geref. Kerk in N. A. Zestig Jaren van Strijd en Zegen,* 1918, Grand Rapids, Michigan, pp. 79-100.

people of the province of Groningen are naive but realistic, while those from Drenthe are very conservative in all things, and the people of Overijsel and Gelderland are independent and democratic. The Friesians and the North Hollanders are inclined to the intellectual side, while mysticism holds a strong appeal for the Zeelanders. The latter are very subjective. Already in the Netherlands there had developed two factions among the dissenters, the "Geldersche" faction and the "Drentsche" faction,—the one independent, democratic, and progressive, and the other conservative. Dr. Van Raalte, the leader of the Geldersche faction, was eager to see his people become assimilated as soon as possible, and thought a union of the western churches with the eastern church would accelerate the process.

Both the Reformed churches are Presbyterian in doctrine and government. The standards of faith of the two churches are the Thirty-seven Articles of the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht. The reasons for the secession as given by the leaders of the movement are as follows:

1. Departure of the Calvinism of the standards, particularly as regards the doctrines of election and atonement.
2. Neglect of Catechism preaching and teaching.
3. The use of hymns in the church services.

4. The toleration of Free Masons as members in good standing.

5. Private baptisms instead of the regular public baptismal services.

6. Open Communion.

7. Neglect of family visiting as required by the church order.[1]

It must be said here that these things were not charged by the seceding group against the western churches, except in rare instances, but against the eastern churches with which they had become affiliated. In 1880 another bitter struggle developed in the Reformed church and whole congregations as well as individual families went over to the Christian Reformed church.

That both churches were very conservative in the beginning, even in trivial matters, is a matter admitted by the membership of the churches themselves. Rev. De Bey was a forward looking man and planned great things for his people, but seldom did he succeed in putting his plans into execution. He had his heart set especially on three things. One was that the people of his church buy a large tract of land in what is now Forest Home, and there in a more beautiful and wholesome environment, build a Dutch community. This the people would never consider, probably for economic reasons *(See Note 1)*, as their

1. Beets, *The Christian Reformed Church*, pp. 46-47.

work demanded that they live near the city. Secondly, Rev. De Bey wanted the very simple innovation in the church services of singing whole and half notes, rather than on whole notes alone. The change was not effected during the life of Rev. De Bey. Thirdly, the Dutch pastor wished an organ installed in the church. The church almost split on the proposition, and it was only due to the minister's tact plus his donation of $600 for the purpose that this proposition was finally carried. [1]

The Christian Reformed churches were the more conservative, and in general are still today. If little matters like whole and half notes, and the installation of an organ caused bitter church quarrels in the early days, the language question in the latter days caused even more bitter fights. Rev. De Bey wished to at once organize churches in which the English language would be used exclusively. The Dutch have always stuck pertinaciously to their language in their church services. Down to 1764 the Dutch language was still used exclusively in the Dutch Reformed churches in the city of New York, although Dutch had not been taught in the schools for over a century. However, English was not introduced in the school at Flatbush, Long Island, until 1762, a century after the school had been established.

1. Dr. Cornelia B. De Bey, daughter of Rev. De Bey, has given the writer much information on the old Dutch community life.

English was not introduced into the services of the Dutch Reformed churches in New York city until there had been "a lawsuit, besides sad losses of temper, money, and membership." The same may be said for the Dutch Reformed churches of the west. It has been found that over fifteen per-cent of the membership of the First Presbyterian Church of Roseland was of Dutch stock, judging by the names of the members and there is hardly a Presbyterian church in the city among whose members there are not many people with Dutch names.

The reason that the Hollander is so conservative in his church and religious life is probably due to the fact that in his economic and social life he is forced to make adjustments to his new environment. He has no choice. Thus it often happens that the second generation is Americanized in all but his church life. His church life he can order as he pleases and here alone his old loyalties can find expression.

The immigrant is generally of the lower ranks of society, and it is economic distress that brings him to leave his native land. He leaves the institutions about which his whole life has centered and he is thrown into an entirely different environment to which he must either make adjustments or starve. He makes such adjustments as he must, but on those institutions which he can bring over to this country he concentrates

all his old attachments and loyalties. As a result the church remains extremely conservative. What effects this has on the family and social life of the people will be discussed later, but it can at once be seen that there is often considerable friction between the parents and the children. As to the present status of the language question it may be said that it is no longer a source of controversy except in the small, outlying churches. Half of the churches use the English language exclusively, and there is no longer a church in the city which does not have some English services. Of the three services a day, (three services is the rule in those churches in which the English language is not exclusively used), one or two of the services are conducted in English.

The Hollander is very slow to Americanize his church life. Those starting the first English churches were looked down upon and suffered no little social ostracism. Rather than see the English language introduced in the church the older people were content to see their children leave their church or go to some other church. The older people somehow connected up their Calvinism with the language, and feared that the loss of the one would inevitably mean the loss of the other. They were afraid that with Americanization they would lose their distinct principles. On the same ground they opposed all ritual and even the use of flowers. These things would

mean a transfer of interest and emphasis with the result of a diluted gospel. The Americanization process was held back as long as possible, but when the churches which introduced no English into their services saw their best membership continually draining off, they realized they were playing a losing game and that they would soon find themselves with a large church establishment to keep up but with no members with which to do it. Since the war they have completely changed front, and it is amusing to see these old Dutch churches frantically transforming themselves into English speaking churches, in an effort to save themselves. Old ministers who had never preached an English sermon and a few years back would have disdained to do so, are now heroically struggling with the English language in the pulpit.

The marks of difference of the two protestant denominations are no longer very distinct, and the old bars between the two are continually being more and more lowered. It is no longer uncommon to see ministers of one church accept pastorates in the other. But there are still a few marks of difference which have become really more intense than lessened. One of these is that the Christian school movement never had any vogue in the Reformed churches of the west, whereas in the Christian Reformed church the movement has gained increasing momentum. The difference in attitude of the two churches toward

the Christian school has accentuated different tendencies, and is tending to keep the two churches apart after many other differences have either disappeared or are tending to disappear.

A second difference between the two churches may be said to be their attitude in regard to membership in secret societies, the Masonic Order in particular. The Reformed church leaves the matter entirely to the local churches whereas the Christian Reformed church has laid down a ruling by the Synod opposing membership in such orders. Many of the local churches of the Reformed denomination do not allow their members to join secret orders, but more of them say nothing about it, and there is probably not a Reformed church in the east which does exclude from its membership persons belonging to a secret order.

The reasons for opposition to the lodges are as follows:

1. Their initial oaths, binding to things not yet made known to the candidate for admission, are unscriptural.
2. The secrecy of these societies in general is unscriptural.
3. Their selfishness is unscriptural.
4. Their binding together in a common brotherhood the godly and the ungodly is unscriptural.
5. The lodge often attempts to be an "empire within an empire."

6. The nomenclature of the lodges is often immodest, ludicrous, unrepublican, and sometimes even blasphemous.

7. Many of their ceremonies are too frivolous for an earnest Christian to engage in.

8. The abuse of the Bible in the ritual.[1]

Another distinction between the two churches is that the Christian Reformed church uses psalms exclusively in its public worship, whereas the Reformed church has long since introduced the use of hymns. However all churches, whether Reformed or Christian Reformed, use psalms exclusively as long as the services are Dutch. But now even in the Christian Reformed church hymns are beginning to be used. Also it may be said that the Christian Reformed church still faithfully adheres to the rule that the minister must base at least one of his sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. This practice has to a large degree lapsed in the Reformed churches. The Christian Reformed church is also probably more regular in catechetical instruction. All the young people attend an hour class each week conducted by the pastor in which first biblical history is studied and then doctrine. This is in addition to and distinct from the Sunday schools.

The ministry of the churches is very well educated. Most of the Reformed ministers are educated at Hope college and Western seminary at

1. Beets, *The Christian Reformed Church,* pp. 225-228.

Holland, Mich., while the Christian Reformed ministers for the most part receive their education at Calvin college and the Theological school at Grand Rapids. The ministers are, except for the older ones, college graduates, and have spent three years or more in a theological course. Only college graduates are now admitted to the seminaries. In the last few years it has become the rule for the candidates for the ministry in the Christian Reformed church to spend a year or two in post graduate work at Princeton Theological seminary.

Of the eleven Christian Reformed ministers in Chicago at the present time, one has a doctors degree from the Free University of Amsterdam, four have taken graduate work at Princeton, two have taken graduate work at McCormick Theological seminary, and one is about to receive his Ph. D. from the University of Chicago. Due to the removal of one of the most popular professors at the Christian Reformed seminary at Grand Rapids many students for the ministry of that church now take all their theological work at Princeton.

It will be seen from the above that the Christian Reformed church is almost identical in doctrine and church practice with the United Presbyterian church. An attempt was made to effect a union of the two into one church body but this failed. So also there have been movements to reunite the

two Dutch Reformed church bodies, but these have also failed. The Christian Reformed church is more Calvinistic, and has a stronger theological and doctrinal bent.

The religious Hollander's chief intellectual and social interests are centered about the church. He is well grounded in the rudiments of Calvinistic theology due to his attendance at the Christian schools and the catechism classes taught by the minister, and the doctrinal sermons he hears from the pulpit every Sunday. This gives him an intense interest in the theological seminary of his church at which the ministers are educated. He stands continually on watch to challenge the orthodoxy of the students that come from it, and he reads with avidity all the theological controversies that are carried on in the church papers and by means of pamphlets. The percentage of the members of the Reformed churches that read their church papers is exceptionally high. The Christian Reformed church stands highest among all the churches in the United States in the percentage of its people that are subscribers of its official church organs. *De Wachter,* the Dutch weekly of the Christian Reformed church, has over a thousand subscribers in Chicago and vicinity, and the number of readers of *The Banner,* the English weekly, is nine hundred. The Reformed church papers have a much smaller number of subscribers. Then also *Onze Toe-*

komst, a Dutch weekly published in Chicago, has some twelve hundred subscribers in the Chicago district. This paper also has a strong religious bent and publishes much church news of the two denominations.

The Dutch are very regular attendants at church services. There was a time when he attended three services a day. There are no pew rents, and the family usually sits together. Children are brought to church when very young and when they become restless are fed peppermints, or if very young, are allowed to go to sleep during a part of the sermon. The air in the churches of the older type is allowed to become stale, and this mingled with the peppermint and cologne odors, for the old Dutch ladies are very fond of using cologne, often caused a peculiar odor to pervade the churches. *(See Note 2.)* Except in the older English speaking churches, there are no choirs. The Dutchman will not tolerate them. The Dutch supports the church well,—bazaars are never held to raise funds for the upkeep of the church itself. As compared to American churches in general, an outstanding feature of the Dutch Reformed church is the large number of men present at the church services. Indeed the males slightly outnumber the females in the membership of the Christian Reformed church. The services generally last a full hour and a half. The time given to music is less and the time given to preach-

ing and prayer is greater than that in the American churches. In the Dutch churches the consistory members, the elders and the deacons, sit in a special seat in the front part of the church. This seat is reserved for them and when the time for the beginning of the services arrives they come marching in a procession following the pastor. In some churches they remain standing for a short silent prayer before being seated, and stand up again while the pastor is offering the long prayer. After the sermon the minister is not found at the door greeting his people, but he must first shake hands with all the elders and deacons before he can go among his congregation. It is the duty of the elders to stand guard over the "soundness" of the minister's preaching, and if an elder thinks he has detected heresy in the sermon he refuses to offer his hand until the minister has satisfied his doubts. These customs have disappeared in the English speaking churches.

There is but one Dutch Catholic church in Chicago and that is located in Roseland. It was organized in 1900 and now numbers 240 families and about 1,100 members. Most of them originally came from Brabant and Zeeland on the Belgian border. There are also many Dutch members of the Belgian Flemish Catholic churches in different parts of the city. The Dutch Catholic church has not yet a parochial school but plans

are under way to open one next year. Father Van Heertum is the parish priest.

There are also a small group of Baptists in Roseland and in South Holland. About once a month Rev. D. Laansma from Grand Rapids, Michigan, the pastor of a Dutch Baptist church there, comes to Chicago to conduct meetings for the Dutch Baptists. The meetings are held in the Swedish Baptist church in Roseland.

There is also a large non-church group of Hollanders in Chicago. They belonged for the most part to the State church in Holland and were of the liberal wing of that church. By the evangelical Dutch people they are called "Modernen" (liberals). When they come to this country they usually drop all church connections. "Moderne" ministers from the Netherlands have at sundry times attempted to establish Unitarian churches in Chicago, but such churches have never had more than a short and precarious existence.

The Dutch church population in Chicago is as follows:

Roseland:	Reformed	3586
	Christian Reformed	2401
	Catholic	1100
Englewood:	Reformed	1225
	Christian Reformed	1665
West Side:	Reformed	1035
	Christian Reformed	2425
Suburbs:	Reformed	2182
	Christian Reformed	2559

Great missionary zeal has always characterized the Dutch Reformed churches. The Reformed church was one of the very first to go into foreign missionary work, and today carries on an extensive work in Japan, China, India, and Arabia. The Reformed church has also carried on a very successful work under the Winnebago Indians in Nebraska. Many men that have gone out from the Reformed Mission Board have become world famous. The extraordinary and interesting career of the Reverend Guido F. Verbeck in Japan, who established the Japan Mission in 1859, is one of the brightest chapters in mission history. Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, explorer, lecturer, editor *The Mission World,* and a leader in the Student Volunteer Movement; Dr. Paul Harrison, Rev. Livingstone Warnshuis, and Rev. Oltman, are all outstanding figures in world missions today. The Christian Reformed church has not felt itself sufficiently strong financially to carry the burden of foreign mission work until within the last few years. It has carried on an extensive mission work for years among the Navaho Indians in the southwest, and a few years ago took over a large mission field in China.

Bethany Reformed church of Roseland has its own missionaries in the field in the persons of Dr. and Mrs. Hofstra who are in the Amoy, China, Mission. This church, in cooperation with the Gano Reformed church, also conducts a local

mission at 116th and State streets, in the heart of the little Italian colony there. The Reformed churches and the Christian Reformed churches in Roseland cooperate in the support and administration of the Lithuanian mission, located on the corner of Indiana avenue and 107th street. The Christian Reformed churches in Roseland have united in the support of Rev. L. P. Brink, a missionary on the Navaho mission field. Nearly all the churches conduct mission Sunday schools.

The most important and in many ways the most interesting mission of the Dutch churches in Chicago is the Helping Hand Mission established and supported by the Christian Reformed churches in Chicago. It is located at 850 West Madison street in the heart of Hobohemia, with branches at 1126 West Van Buren and 321 East 83rd street. The Mission has forty-four beds for transients for which it charges twenty-five cents a night. Many roomers are housed permanently. In the winter it feeds about 100 men a day. Discarded clothes from Christian Reformed churches throughout the country are collected and sent to the Mission where they are distributed during the winter. Besides the usual mission gospel meetings and Sunday School classes, the Mission also conducts sewing classes.

Aside from the mission work, the Helping Hand Mission carries on another very interesting work. The Christian Reformed church conducts

a Seamen's Home at Hoboken, N. J. This institution carries on the double task of doing missionary work among the sailors and of giving aid to Dutch immigrants. If the immigrants wish to go to Chicago or points beyond, the Seamen's Home authorities send them on to the Helping Hand Mission. Here they are met at the station, given a temporary home if they intend to remain in Chicago, or given assistance to go on if their destination is farther west. These immigrants are naturally directed to Dutch settlements whenever it is possible.

A very good characterization of the Mission and its superintendent, John VandeWater, is given by Nels Anderson in "The Hobo."

"John VandeWater, The Friend of the Deserving.

"The Helping Hand Mission at 850 W. Madison street is essentially a family mission with Sunday School, parents classes, and other auxiliary activities. It does not, however, neglect the homeless man. Superintendent VandeWater, for the last eight years superintendent of the Helping Hand Mission, is one of the few practical men in the mission work. Throughout the winter his organization feeds, upon an average, 100 men a day. He operates a woodyard and any able-bodied man who asks for aid is given a chance to work. His is the only mission that has such a test.

"Mr. VandeWater does not care for converts that must be 'bought' with doughnuts and coffee, and has little patience with the missions imposed upon by men who become converted only for a place to sleep and something to eat. He is in favor of concerted action among missions, because where they work separately they lay themselves open to exploitation.

"The homeless man is often an ungrateful individual, but Mr. VandeWater feels that more than a fourth of the men aided really appreciate the help they get. Many men prefer the mission floor in cold weather to the floor in the 'flop-house,' which is seldom scrubbed." [1]

A further idea of the nature of the work done by the mission can be obtained from the annual report of its work:

Gospel meetings	407
Hospital visits	67
Family visits	700
Tracts distributed	8300
Gospels distributed	955
Testaments distributed	277
Bibles placed in homes	30
Classes with the children	316
Classes with the adults	286
Immigrants helped	78
Hollanders who have been in the mission	175
Sunday school enrollment	175

The Reformed churches have never tolerated the usual revival methods in their churches and they have never introduced them in their mission work. They rely rather on the more practical and enduring methods of education and continued and helpful assistance to the family. Families are induced to leave tenement districts and take up their residence in a better district of the city, and to unite with some evangelical church. Many families have been brought into the church as a result of the Mission's work.

Mr. A. Huisjen is the assistant superintendent

1. pp. 179-180.

of the Mission and Miss H. Hamstra is in charge of the women's department.

The Chicago Jewish Mission is at 1324 W. 14th Street, very near the Dutch settlement on Ashland avenue, for this little settlement of Dutch people is surrounded on all sides by Jewish people. This mission is supported by the Christian Reformed denomination and now occupies the old building of the First church. The mission was until recently in charge of the Reverends John Rottenberg and Elias Newman, both converted Jews. Rev. Newman left recently to engage in missionary work under the Jews in Palestine.

The Jewish mission conducts street meetings, daily vacation bible schools, and sewing classes. The Mission workers meet with bitter opposition on the part of the Jews. An instance of this bitter opposition occurred Labor Day, 1923, when a picnic was arranged for the mothers and children who frequented the Mission. The picnickers were to go by automobiles to Highlands and join in the picnic of the Christian Reformed church there. Due to an accident one of the automobiles was delayed for a little while with the children and mothers already on board. A crowd of Jews at once collected and proceeded to send a shower of stones and eggs at the heads of the luckless persons in the auto. A few of the children were hurt and the clothes of all were soiled.

Plans are under way to erect a new building

and greatly extending the work. Both a medical and a dental clinic will be opened as well as a general dispensary conducted, with a nurse continually in charge.

IV. SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

As we noted under the discussion of the motives of the immigration in the middle of the last century, the desire for freedom to work out a more positive Christian education for their children was one of the most important reasons that brought them to this country.[1] In the Netherlands at that time they were unable to educate their children in their own schools and the state schools were under the control of the Liberals. America held out to them the hope of achieving their educational program. And yet by the irony of fate the non-conformist group in Holland with the aid of the Catholics have won a sweeping victory not only in acquiring the freedom to set up these schools, but in getting a subsidy for such schools from the state. As a result the Christian school movement in the Netherlands won a complete triumph whereas the Dutch in this country have for the most part allowed this program to lapse.

1. Van Raalte, *Landverhuizing,* p. 8-17.

For years nothing was done to carry out the program for Christian education, except in the field of secondary and higher education. This can probably be explained from the fact that the Dutch immigrants found educational conditions so much more favorable in the United States than they were in Holland. In Holland the line of demarcation between the orthodox people and the liberals was sharply marked and the liberals were in complete control. In America matters stood quite differently. Except for the mild sway of Unitarianism in New England, American society was prevailingly orthodox in tone. The maintenance of several Christian schools under such conditions seemed to many quite superfluous, although Dr. Van Raalte never dropped the ideal.

If the matter had rested with the early immigrants, the program for Christian primary education would have been dropped. But in Holland the movement had acquired great impetus and free Christian schools, supported by the parents, sprang up in great numbers. So strong did the movement become, and so numerous these schools that in 1917 the Clerical party in cooperation with the Calvinist party was strong enough to force an amendment to the Constitution placing the private schools on the same basis as the public schools. The Elementary Education Act, put into force on January 1, 1921, provided that the costs of primary education should be defrayed from

the public treasury, no matter whether it be given in private or public schools, and subsidies were granted to private institutions for secondary and higher education on the fulfillment of certain conditions.[1] Thus Holland, one of the very first countries to establish a public school system, has gone a long way toward handing the schools back to private control.

The Calvinistic Dutch immigrants of the last forty years have been educated in these schools and upon coming to this country they sought to establish such schools here. Besides the religious motive there is another factor present in the Christian school movement, more or less consciously present in the older people, and that is the desire to keep up the Dutch language, Dutch ideals generally, and to stay the breaking up of the Dutch communities.

The principles underlying the free Christian school movement have been fully stated in the propagandist literature, which is extensive.[1] The advocates of the Christian school contend that the education of the children is the duty and the right of the parents. Education is not the duty of the state except for those who refuse or fail to make proper provision for the education of their children. In its political philosophy the

1. Hylkema, *The Free Christian School,* Eerdmans-Sevensma Co., Grand Rapids, Mich. J. Broene (professor Calvin College), *Some Current Educational Ideals.* Also numerous pamphlets and articles in the Holland American press.

movement partakes of a sort of pluralism.[1] If then, education is the duty of the parents, Christian parents must give their children a positively Christian education. This the government in its public schools can not do. The public schools must necessarily be neutral, because they must accommodate people of all shades of belief.

By Christian education the Christian school advocates do not mean mere formal Bible reading and repetition of the Lord's prayer, but by it they mean that a positive Christian tone shall prevail in the teaching of all the branches, that religion must be the chief motive in life, and that the child shall leave the school with a well rounded Christian character. The advocates of the Christian school hold that these schools should be supported and controlled not by the church, but by societies organized for this purpose. For this reason they resent the term parochial as applied to their schools, and always speak of them as free Christian schools. They have tried to secure the cooperation of other evangelical church people in these schools but thus far have not been very successful.

1. See Dr. A. Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism,* given at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1898. Third Lecture, *Calvinism and Politics.* Dr. Kuyper was leader of the Calvinist party and prime minister of the Netherlands, 1901-4. He speaks of the sovereignties of the different spheres, of the state, of society, and of the church. Each is sovereign in its own sphere, but may not intrude in other spheres. See also his *Sovereignty in the Spheres of Society,* 1880. See also *Religion and Culture,* July, 1923, article by H. J. G. Van Andel, "Is the State Supreme?"

tian Reformed people hope ultimately to establish a Calvinistic university.

Certainly the Christian High school does much to lead the young people to the denominational colleges. The teaching staff is about equally divided between graduates of Calvin college and of Hope college, thus establishing a close relationship between the high school and the denominational colleges. Practically all of the Chicago students of Hope and Calvin are graduates of the Chicago Christian High school.

Of course, by no means all of the children of the Dutch in Chicago attending high school are found in the Christian High school. The Christian High school probably does not get more than a fourth of them. However, the Christian High school does draw its enrollment largely from those people who otherwise would not send their children to high school. The religious Dutchman is afraid that his children will lose their distinctive Christian principles if they attend other schools. The Christian High school has greatly increased the number of those going on for a college education. The Dutch in Chicago have been quite backward educationally as compared to the Dutch in Michigan and Iowa.[1] This may largely be explained from the fact that the latter were nearer the denominational colleges. But the striking fact is that the professional men in Chicago colonies come almost entirely from the

Dutch communities outside of Chicago. At present there is a marked increased interest in higher education.

Yet from the Dutch communities of Chicago have come some leading personalities in the educational and professional world. President Dimnent of Hope college comes from the West Side colony. George David Birkhoff, professor of mathematics at Harvard University, is another product of the Chicago Dutch. His uncle was for years the Dutch Consul-general in Chicago. Dr. Cornelia De Bey is the daughter of Rev. De Bey who was for years pastor of the First Reformed church. Chicago has also contributed its share to the ministry of the Reformed and Christian Reformed churches.

NOTE. Christian education has always been a peculiarly distinctive tenet of the Reformed faith. Mention of it can be found in the church synods from the beginning to the present. The following is found in the Acts of the Synod of Dordrech, Session XVII.: "Schools in which the young shall be properly instructed in the principles of Christian doctrine shall be instituted not only in cities but also in towns and country places where heretofore none have existed. The Christian magistracy shall be requested that well qualified persons may be enabled to devote themselves to the service, and especially that the children of the poor may gratuitously be instructed, and not be excluded from the benefit of the schools. In this office none shall be employed but such as are members of the Reformed church having certificates of an upright faith and pious life, and of being well versed in the truths of the Catechism.

"They are to sign a document professing their belief in the confession of faith and the Heidelberg catechism, and promising that they will give catechetical instruction to the young in the principles of Christian truth according to the same. The schoolmasters shall instruct their scholars according to their age and capacity, at least two days in the week, not only by causing them to commit to memory, but also by instilling into their minds an acquaintance with the truths of the catechism."

This act reflects the union of church and state. As the schools and the church in Holland, both came under the control of the state, and the church came under the influence of rationalism, the education became more and more secular as time went on. With the religious revival in the last century the demand for Christian education again became an issue.

The Dutch system of Christian education was brought to this country by the early Dutch settlers in New York. The schoolmaster in colonial New York was considered as important as the minister and shared with him many religious duties, reading the Scriptures in the church services, and leading in the singing of the psalms. The church and school house stood side by side and both were under the supervision of the consistory. In course of time the parochial school was superseded by the district common school, and the school became completely secularized. However, some of these early schools remained in existence for a long time. The school established by the collegiate church in New York in 1633 is still in existence and is attended by the children of the grandees of New York. See *The History of the School,* written by Henry W. Dunshee.

The Reformed Church has made unsuccessful attempts to revive the system of religious education. Such an attempt was made by General Synod in 1809 and again in 1854. Samuel B. Schieffelin of the Collegiate Church of New York endowed a few schools established as a result of Synod's action in 1854. But the ideal of religious education is now as good as extinct in the eastern wing of the Reformed church.

V. POLITICS AND CIVIC LIFE

THE Dutch of Chicago are Republican almost to a man. The percentage of the Dutch that are Republican probably runs as high as ninety per cent.[1] The exact influences that swung the Dutch into the Republican ranks the writer has not been able to ascertain. The Dutch of Michigan before the Civil War were Democratic.[2] *(See Note 4.)*

1. Much of this information was given to the writer by Age Zylstra, the leading politician among the Dutch in Chicago today. He was a member of Mayor Thompson's cabinet.

2. Pieters, *A Dutch Settlement in Michigan,* Ch. 8.

probably due to the fact that the immigrants thought the Democratic party really more democratic. Certainly they must have been repelled by the nativist platform of the Know-nothing party. But the Dutch in Michigan are now also Republicans. The Dutch colony in Iowa was Democratic from the beginning and remains so today, in spite of heroic efforts of its leader, Dr. Scholte, to swing the Hollanders into the Republican ranks during the Civil War.[1] Most of the neighbors of the Dutch in Michigan and Chicago were Republican and this may have had a great influence on the political life of the Dutch, but undoubtedly the ministers in the Civil War took a decided stand on such a moral issue as slavery, and may have thus been instrumental in changing the political allegiance of the Dutch. The little colony of Hollanders in Michigan furnished 420 soldiers in the Civil War,—one soldier for every ten of its population. All but one of these were born abroad.

The Dutch in Michigan, due probably to their larger numbers, played a greater part in politics than did the Dutch in Chicago and Illinois. The only section in which they were concentrated in great enough numbers to swing a large racial vote was in Roseland and the South Holland settlement. But even the small Iowa colony as early as 1859 sent their leader to the State Repub-

1. Vanderzee, *Hollanders of Iowa.*

lican convention, and from this convention Dr. Scholte went as a delegate to the National Republican convention at Chicago which nominated Lincoln for the presidency.

Going through the biographical sketches of Roseland in Andreas' *History of Cook County,* published in 1884, one discovers that some of the Dutchmen whose biographies are sketched did engage in local politics. Cornelius Ruigh served as road commissioner five years, as school director for twenty-two years, and as constable for seven years. Hiram VanderBilt served as Town and Village Tax collector and Town Trustee. From these biographical sketches it would seem that the Dutch were not very active even in local politics.

In latter years some of the Hollanders have attained prominence in politics. The Dutch were strong supporters of Roosevelt and followed him in body to the Progressive Party. Hiram Vanderbilt, a descendant of one of the old Dutch families of Roseland, ran for alderman on the Progressive ticket and was elected. He served two terms. Guy Madderom, also a descendant of an old Dutch Roseland family, sat in the city council from 1918 to 1922. Cornelius J. Ton, a lawyer and realty operator, was a member of the Illinois legislature from 1906 to 1910. He was very active in the passage of measures to stop fraudulent employment agencies and introduced the full train crew and sixteen hour train service

bills. He also served on the Chicago Charter conference committee, and was one of the three who organized the "Band of Hope" which was instrumental in the passage of the plurality primary law.

The West Side colony produced several people who took an active part in politics. There was first of all John Meyers, who for a short time served as speaker of the House. Meyers came from the parish of Rev. De Bey in the Netherlands, but came to the United States several years before the De Bey family. The first years after his arrival in this country he spent in Minnesota, but upon hearing that his old pastor in the Netherlands had come to this country, he at once came to Chicago. From that time on he was practically a member of the De Bey family. Rev. De Bey employed a tutor for the instruction of his children, and Meyers shared the instruction with them. He became a leader of the Hollanders in Chicago and was one of the founders of the Holland Building and Loan Association which is today doing a large and successful business. Meyers was a member of the lower house of the Illinois Legislature from 1886 to 1890. He was elected again in 1894, was chosen speaker of the House, but died soon after the opening of the first session.

John Bos, who also spent most of his early life in the West Side community, was for several years the representative of the old eleventh ward

in the city council. But a far more interesting personality in the political and civil life of the city than any of the above, is Dr. Cornelia B. De Bey. Dr. De Bey was the youngest daughter of Rev. De Bey and came to this country with her parents when she was three years old. She was graduated from the Cook County Normal school in 1889, and later attended the Chicago Art Institute and Northwestern University. In 1895 she received the M. D. degree from the Hahnemann Medical college. She has always been deeply interested in work among the poor and has done much to relieve distress by her own personal efforts.

Her political career began early in life. Through Representative Meyers, who had been practically a member of her family, she secured the passage of the bill legalizing kindergartens as part of the public schools in 1890. Those interested in the bill had almost given up hope of the passage of the bill that session until Dr. De Bey interested herself in its passage, and secured its enactment into law in a very short time through the influence she had with Rep. Meyers. She led the fight which defeated the bill which sought to make married women eligible as teachers in public schools. She was also largely instrumental in the enactment of the first Child Labor Law in the state of Illinois, in 1903.

Dr. De Bey's next great victory in her fight for

social betterment was the settlement of the Stockyards strike in 1894. How she was able to bring the opposing factions together has always been a mystery, but within a week and single handed, she brought an end to the strike that was causing much suffering to the laboring people.[1]

Dr. De Bey's greatest work was done as a member of the Chicago Board of Education from 1905 to 1908. Here she waged many a hard fight and spectacular battle for a better public school system. She led the fight in the appointment of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young as Superintendent of the Chicago School system, was successful in throwing the American Book Company out of the schools system, and encouraged the Chicago School teachers to organize and join the American Federation of Labor.

She is also the author of the De Bey system which became generally known as the Young system and which at the time was regarded as a revolution of the Chicago school system. The proposal of Dr. De Bey raised a tumult at the time but since has been almost universally adopted. The purpose of the plan was to place the school system on a business-like but democratic basis. The main features of the plan are the redivision of the city into districts each containing from ten to twenty schools; the organization of all the prin-

1. *Sunday Record-Herald,* September 11, 1904.

cipals and teachers in each district; these organized bodies to act in a supervisory capacity in the direction of the educational affairs of the district; the nomination of principals by the district organization of principals and teachers; the abolition of the board of district superintendents and the substitution of teachers, chosen by the organized principals of the district, to serve as critics.

Frederick De Young, member of the upper house of the state legislature for several terms, member of the Constitutional Convention, a judge in the Circuit Court of Cook County, and now judge in the Supreme Court of Illinois, was born and raised in the South Holland settlement.

The leading politician in the Roseland community today is Age Zylstra. Though he has not held many elective offices, he has held many appointive positions in the city and county government. Mr. Zylstra controls more Dutch votes than any other politician, and he has been the only person that has been really successful in keeping a large personal following, for the Dutch are a very independent people and are not easily controlled by anybody. An incident illustrating this loyalty of the Dutch to Mr. Zylstra occurred in the days when nominations were still made by conventions. Mr. Zylstra was a candidate for the Republican nomination for alderman from the ninth ward. He entered the ward convention with fifteen out of thirty-one delegates pledged

to him. The remaining sixteen delegates were divided between two other candidates for the nomination. Cornelius J. Ton manuevered in such a way as to get one of the two minor candidates to withdraw and throw his vote to the other, and bring about his nomination. The Dutch followers of Mr. Zylstra felt that their candidate had been cheated out of a nomination that was rightfully his. They were so outraged that they threatened Ton with injury. Ton had to be escorted home by the police. They carried their injury to the polls. The Dutch in that election threw their vote to the Democratic candidate, Mr. Block, with the result that for the first time in many years a Democrat sat in the council from this Republican ward.

Mr. Zylstra was for three years City Collector and a member of Mayor Thompson's cabinet. As a committeeman from the ninth ward he was largely responsible for the large majority returned by that ward for Lueder in the mayorality campaign of 1923. Mr. Zylstra was head of the McCormick-Essington-Brundage headquarters of the ninth ward.

The Dutch do not receive their pro-rata share of candidates for city or county offices due to the fact that they are not organized politically and that it is generally difficult to swing their vote as a racial group. When the county or city slate is made up an attempt is made to satisfy every racial

and religious group in order to draw as many votes as possible. In the preparation of this slate the Dutch are usually ignored because they are so unorganized politically. The reason the Dutch are so hard to organize is that they are jealous of each other. One Hollander who had dabbled a bit in local politics complained bitterly of this attitude. Said he, "When a Hollander runs for office, the other Hollanders say, 'He is nothing but a Dutchman, let him go out and work for his living as the rest of us do. He is not too good to work,' and they go to the polls to vote for some good for nothing Irish politician." An attempt was once made to organize all the Dutch in the country in one large political organization, but the organization did not live beyond two or three stormy meetings. So also a political organization started on the West Side lasted only about one season.

The Catholics and the non-church group are different politically than the Reformed church people. The spirit of trade unionism is very strong with them, and many of them are socialists. Among the non-church group there are some very extreme radicals. They have at times aggressively carried their radical propaganda into the circles of the church people. In 1911 Rev. Wm. Stuart, then pastor of the Third Christian Reformed church of Roseland, made a speech in the First Christian Reformed church before a mass meet-

ing of the Young People's Alliance on the subject of Christian Socialism. A group of the radical Hollanders attended the meeting in a body and after Rev. Stuart had got well along with his speech they began to sing the "International." A fight ensued in which the radicals were thrown out of the church bodily. The leader of the radical group, L. Boersma, wrote a pamphlet in reply to Rev. Stuart's speech and distributed it among the church people. The radical Dutch people are of the more recent immigration, and come from the large Dutch cities whereas the earlier Dutch immigrants came mostly from the country districts. The radical movement in the large Dutch cities has become very strong in the last couple of decades, and these people have carried their political ideas with them to this country. It is an outstanding fact that the Dutch of the newer immigration are much more liberal in their political and economic ideas than are the Dutch of earlier immigrations. This can be accounted for by the fact that politics in that country are in advance of politics in this country due to the more strained circumstances of the mass of people there.

VI. JOURNALISM

One of the forces tending to preserve the group consciousness of the Dutch is their journalistic enterprises. Old Dutch settlers in Chicago speak of a Dutch paper printed in the Tribune plant during the Civil War. According to these the paper was edited by a certain Judge Entwout (In't Woud?), and that the paper was put out largely for political reasons; that is, in order to win the Dutch for the Republican party as well as securing their whole-hearted aid in the prosecution of the war. The writer has not been able to find a single trace of the paper. If the paper existed, all trace has been lost except in the memories of the very oldest living settlers.

It also seems that there was at one time a writer on the *Inter-Ocean* who was a Hollander, and translated certain articles into Dutch. *(See Note 5.)* Mr. Herman Teninga told the writer he had a copy of a Dutch edition put out by the *Times-Herald.* John Van Benthuyzen, a Hollander by birth, was for many years managing editor of the *Tribune,* and later went to *The New York World.*

In the winter of 1921 appeared *The Daily Standard.* This was to be a Christian daily paper, with a national appeal. The moving spirit behind it was Rev. J. Clover Monsma, a young Christian Reformed minister, who in his college days had

served as a "cub" reporter on a paper in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Monsma resigned his pastorate of the Archer Avenue Christian Reformed church to build up an organization and promote the enterprise. Large amounts of stock were sold, mostly to Dutch church people, although an attempt was made to make a general appeal to the churches. A large plant was equipped on Ohio street and soon the first edition appeared. The paper compared well with the other cosmopolitan papers, but the original costs had not been carefully calculated, nor the amount of losses that would first have to be borne before the enterprise could be made a paying one. *The Daily Standard* appeared about a month or two and then suddenly collapsed. The losses of some of the Dutch people who had bought its stock, ran into thousands of dollars.

Rev. Monsma is now editing and publishing the *Minister's Monthly,* a magazine exclusively of interest to ministers.

For the last forty years there has been a Dutch newspaper in Chicago. It first appeared as *De Nederlander* in the early eighties, and was edited by Henry Uden Massman, a man of excellent education and a writer of ability. Massman came to this country in the hope of rehabilitating his fortune. His editorials and literary articles are still remembered by the older people as the acme of journalistic writings.

In 1893 it was taken over by the Young Peoples Union of the Reformed and Christian Reformed churches and published as their organization organ. The name was changed to *Onze Toekomst* (Our Future). *(See Note 6.)* The editors were A. Raap and H. Jacobsma, the principals of the two Christian schools of Roseland. In 1898 it was again reorganized by Massman and published by him until 1906; from 1906 to 1917 it was published and edited by Mr. L. Holstein, who is now in the real estate business in Englewood. In 1917 it was again reorganized and taken over by a stock company, the Christian Literature Publishing Company, and is now published by them.

The headquarters of *Onze Toekomst* are at 1315 So. Ashland Avenue, in the heart of the West side Dutch community. *Onze Toekomst* at present has over 3,500 subscribers, 1,200 of which live in Chicago, 800 in Iowa, and 300 in Grand Rapids. The remaining readers are scattered over the Western states. The reason that the paper has no more readers in Michigan is that there it has to compete with *De Grondwet,* published in Holland, Michigan, a Dutch paper founded in 1860 and with a country wide circulation. The editor of *Onze Toekomst* is Dr. John Van Lonkhuyzen, pastor of the First Christian Reformed church of Chicago. Dr. Van Lonkhuyzen received his education in Holland and writes in a very interesting and pithy Dutch style. The

paper is exclusively Dutch. Though it has no official connection with the church, *Onze Toekomst* is strongly religious and ecclesiastical. There is a Sunday school department, there are meditations, articles on theological subjects, news items from the different Dutch settlements, and an especial feature are the weekly letters commenting on events in the Netherlands. *Onze Toekomst* also carries a supplement, "Het Westen," which is edited from Orange City, Iowa.

A very interesting feature of the paper is the advertisements. Professional men of Dutch descent all seem very eager to have their name brought before the Dutch readers, for their advertisements fill several columns. Also there are advertised Dutch articles such as Dutch rye bread, cocoa, cheese, etc.

Onze Toekomst collects great sums of money for charitable purposes. It has collected over $50,000 in the last few years for the Hungarian and German children. In the summer of 1923, a young Dutch couple with a baby arrived in Chicago and made the Helping Hand Mission their home until they could establish themselves. The young husband was killed on the way to his first day's work by an automobile as he stepped off the street car. A fund of about $400 was collected for the widow and child in a few weeks by *Onze Toekomst*. Incidents like this occur right along.

VII. SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

A most unusual and interesting development among the Dutch is the number of societies organized to provide burial and sick funds. There are five of these societies and all are doing a flourishing business. Their origin is differently accounted for. The oldest society, Zelf Hulp (Self-help) was organized in 1879. The story goes that in the early days many a collection was taken up among the Dutch in order to prevent a fellow Dutchman from being buried in the potters field. One man finally suggested that a permanent fund be started by a small weekly contribution. This developed into a regularly organized society doing business on an actuarial basis.

The origin of the Roseland society seems to have been in a less altruistic motive. The man who founded this society, the Roseland Mutual Aid Society, was Sander Van Wyngaarden, the village undertaker and furniture man. It often happened that people died leaving funds insufficient to defray the expenses of a fairly respectable burial. The undertaker stood the loss. Van Wyngaarden organized this society to insure for the burials. For twenty-five years he was its president.

There are, however, two general reasons sufficient to account for these societies and their unusual growth. One reason is that the Dutch

seldom belong to lodges or to labor unions, and thus cannot partake of their death benefits. The second reason is that the Dutch of the first and second generation were opposed to insurance. Insurance to them was a failure to trust in God's providence, and an attempt to avoid His displeasure when He sought to visit a person with tribulations. That a mutual benefit society in no way differed from insurance probably never occurred to them. However, the Dutch still seem to take a very active interest in these societies and many are enrolled in the membership of the several now existant.

Zelf Hulp, founded in 1879, has over 18,000 members and a reserve fund of over $75,000. I. Emmering is secretary and the offices are in the Oxford building. The Society has only burial funds.

The Roseland Mutual Aid Society, founded in 1884, has a membership of 8,000 and a reserve fund of $52,000. Fred Vos is president; A. Blystra, secretary; and G. Smit, treasurer.

Vriendschap en Trouw (Friendship and Trust), having headquarters at 67th and May Streets, has sick and death benefits and also engages in social activities such as boat excursions, entertainments, and band concerts.

Hulp in Nood (Help in Need), meeting every third week at 18th and Laflin streets, has sick and death benefits.

Excelsior, a west side organization of 350 members has sick benefits. N. Van Zeewijk is the president.

Eendracht Maakt Macht (In Unity There is Strength) having a downtown branch and a Roseland branch, started in a social way and later started sick and death benefits.

The Old People's Home, located at Wentworth and 106th streets, houses seventeen old people and is supported by the churches and general gifts.

Holland Building and Loan Association, organized in 1881 by Rev. De Bey and John Meyers, had loans in force June, 1923, amounting to $314,900. Herman Vanderploeg is secretary.

Roseland Home Building Association, of which Herman Teninga is secretary, has loans in force amounting to $1,076,148.

The Dutch do not take to apartments, still less to tenements. One reason they have not become apartment dwellers no doubt is that they generally have large families; and another reason is that they are very thrifty and very soon after marriage the young couple buys a home. The Holland Building and Loan Association has never lost a dollar on any of its loans. Most of the Dutch, too, come from the country districts of Holland and are fond of a grass plot and a garden of their own. Where two families live

in a house they are usually related as brothers and sisters or as parents and children.

Holland Abroad is a society to keep the Hollanders in different countries in contact with each other and with the mother country. Mr. A. Oosterheerdt is its representative in Chicago. Recently a film "Nederland" was shown in several of the churches and in the City Club by Mr. Oosterheerdt as representative of the society. In this manner a lively interest is maintained in what is going on in the old fatherland.

Besides the organizations enumerated there are several whose purposes are largely social. These are numerous but rather sporadic and are for the most part made up of the non-church group or of those people who have left the Dutch communities, or those who have never lived in the Dutch communities but still have a keen interest in things Dutch, and wish to keep up some of their Dutch associations.

Eendracht Maakt Macht is an example of such an organization composed largely of the non-church group. The members belonging to the downtown branch are scattered pretty much over the west and northwest side of town. They have frequent social meetings with dances and card playing. As was noted before, there is also a branch of this society in Roseland.

Het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond has for its main purpose the perpetuation of Dutch cul-

ture, language, history, and art, and has two branches: a Roseland branch and a downtown branch. The downtown society has not met for several years and is practically dead, but it has never officially been dissolved. The Roseland branch has developed largely into a society most of whose activities are social. It is building a new hall on 111th street near Princeton avenue. It flourishes largely as the center of the social life of the non-church Dutch group and does much to foster the Dutch consciousness of these people.

Graduates and former students of Calvin College, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the college of the Christian Reformed church, organized the Calvin College Club in 1922. Monthly luncheons were held to bring them together for a social meeting. The Club has about twenty-five members scattered over the city.

Hope College Club is a similar organization made up of graduates and former students of Hope College, Holland, Michigan, the college of the Reformed denomination. It was organized in 1923 and has some twenty-nine members.

Modelled after the Holland and Knickerbocker societies of New York, there has been a succession of societies in Chicago whose aim has been to keep alive in people of Dutch stock a consciousness of their Dutch ancestry. These societies have included in their membership those who are

still leaders in the Dutch communities but just as often those who had merely Dutch names. With some of the members it was merely a fad, on the part of others a real appreciation of Dutch tradition. Its membership included the most prominent men in the Dutch communities and some men who were prominent in the life of the city.

The first society of this nature to be organized was the Holland Society which had a life of about five years in the middle of the nineties. One of the leading spirits was Van Benthuyzen, the managing editor of the *Tribune*. This society seemed zealous to surpass even the Holland Society of New York, for its banquets were noted for their splendor and conviviality. The society was looked upon by the average Hollander as a blue stocking affair, and did not capture his interest.

The Holland Society was succeeded by the St. Nicholas Society. This was probably a less pretentious organization than its predecessor, but its life was precarious even for the few years of its existence.

In the winter of 1924 the old project was revived. Twenty-two men, the guests of Vice-Consul F. Posthuma at a dinner at the Illinois Athletic Club, organized the Knickerbocker Society of Chicago. At present the Society numbers about thirty-five members and the first annual banquet will be given at the City Club on April

25, 1924. On the program will appear Mr. Gelmer Kuiper as toastmaster, and Consul General Vennema and Secretary J. VanderVries of the United States Chamber of Commerce as the main speakers. Gelmer Kuiper is president of the Knickerbocker Society and Dr. J. H. Hospers is the secretary.

The Dutch are very strongly race conscious. No better illustration of that can be found than in the movement which led to the establishment of a chair of Dutch history, literature and art at the University of Chicago. Inspired no doubt by the success of the movement which led to the establishment of the Queen Wilhelmina chair at Columbia University, certain Holland American leaders in Chicago started a similar movement. Leaders in the movement seem to have been Consul General Birkhoff, Rev. Breen, A. Oosterheerdt, H. Jacobsma, and L. Holstein. The movement seems also to have gone out under the auspices of the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond.

The University Council was petitioned to establish such a chair under the following arrangement. The Dutch in Chicago would finance the professorship for the first few years, and if the venture proved successful in an academic way, the University would then assume full responsibility for it.

Dr. Tiemen De Vries, a graduate of the University of Amsterdam, was chosen to fill the

chair, and assumed his new duties in the fall quarter of 1911. For three years Dr. De Vries gave lectures on Dutch history, literature and art on this foundation. His inaugural lecture was given in October, 1911, on the subject, "The Influence of the Nations of Europe, Especially the Netherlands, on the Character, the Institutions, and the Development of the American Nation." The lecture was subsequently published by Eerdmans - Sevensma Company of Grand Rapids. The lecture set forth some rather exorbitant claims for the Dutch influence on American institutions, somewhat after the manner of Douglas Campbell.

Dr. De Vries in 1912 published some of his lectures given in his courses at the University under the title of "Dutch History, Art and Literature for Americans." In the lecture on Washington Irving and the Dutch people of New York Dr. De Vries attempted to prove that the Rip Van Winkle story was plagiarized from Erasmus' Epimenides and the Scots. In 1916 Dr. De Vries published another book under the title of "Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature."

The University officials did not think the professorship had been sufficiently a success to warrant its continuance at the university expense, and the professorship was discontinued. An attempt was then made to have a similar chair

established at the University of Illinois, but this did not meet with success.

September, 1923, marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. The House of Orange, with few exceptions, has been very popular with the Dutch people. Dutch history has been so closely linked up with this illustrious family that its members have come to represent the national glory in an objective manner. On the Queen's twenty-fifth anniversary a celebration was held in Holland, and many Holland American leaders thought it the proper occasion for some token of respect and esteem from the Dutch people in this country.

A committee was organized to determine what the nature of this action should be. The officers of the Committee were: Dr. J. Van Lonkhuyzen, president; James H. Rook, vice-president; Dr. Henry Beets, mission secretary of the Christian Reformed Church, secretary; James J. Van Pernis, managing editor of *Onze Toekomst,* acting secretary; and Ralph Van Vechten, vice-president of the Continental and Commercial National Bank, treasurer. Prominent members of the committee were: George B. Cortelyou, ex-secretary of the treasury; Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy; Dr. Henry Van Dyke of Princeton; the Rt. Rev. Archbishop Cornelius Vander Ven of Lousiana; Prof. F. C. L. Van Steenderen of Lake Forest College; Dr. Samuel

L. Zwemer, missionary; and Prof. A. J. Barnouw of Columbia University.

A beautiful Album was prepared by the committee and presented to the Queen at the time of the Jubilee Celebration in the Netherlands. The Album contains a dedicatory article by Dr. Van Lonkhuyzen of Chicago, an article on "The Hollanders of North America," by Dr. Henry Beets; an article on "The Reformed Church in North America," by Prof. S. C. Nettinga of Western Seminary of Holland, Michigan; an article on "The Christian Reformed Church of America," by Prof. S. Volbeda of the Theological Seminary at Grand Rapids, Michigan; an article on "The Dutch Roman Catholics in the United States," by Father Van Heertum of Roseland; an article on "The Dutch Press in America," by Mr. A. Oosterheerdt of Chicago; an article on "The Netherlands Colonists of 1847 and Education," by President Dimnent of Hope College; and an article on "The Educational Institutions of the Christian Reformed Church," by Prof. H. J. G. Van Andel, of Calvin College.

The Album was a product of no little artistic merit, due largely to the unsparing efforts of Mr. James H. Rook. Artists of note and from the Chicago Art Institute engrossed the pages. A beautiful walnut and mahogany hand carved case for the Album was made by skilled cabinet makers from the Scholle Furniture Company.

VIII. OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION

Since most of the Dutch immigrants come from the country districts of the Netherlands, many seek the country when they come to this country. As was noted before, a large number of the Dutch in the suburbs and in South Holland and the Highlands-Lansing settlement, are truck farmers. Many of the people in Roseland are employed at the Pullman Works and some at the Weber Wagon Works. Many also are engaged in small businesses such as grocery stores and meat markets. The younger people work downtown in offices and stores, and a very large percentage are employed as truck drivers. The building trades also draw a large number of the Dutch laborers.

A most interesting settlement from an occupational point of view is the Ashland-Fourteenth settlement. The settlers of this community come from the province of Groningen where most of them were farm laborers. These people naturally took to teaming. They loved to work with horses and to be their own masters. Because of their close proximity to the loop they drifted into garbage collecting and today practically all the garbage collecting of the loop is done by the Dutch of this colony. Most of their work is done at night. In every backyard can be found a barn or a garage. As soon as a boy becomes old enough

to drive horses or a truck, another team of horses or another truck is bought by the family. In some families there are as many as five or six trucks or teams, operated or driven by members of the same family. Other more ambitious men get hired men from the Netherlands. Some of the bigger operators have as many as twenty teams. In the last two years there has been a transition from the use of horses to trucks.

From teaming and trucking to excavating was a natural transition, and today some of the biggest excavating jobs in the loop are contracted by the Dutch from this colony. The excavating for the Tribune building, a $100,000 job, was done by Mr. Ottenhof, who a few years ago started teaming in a modest way. These Dutch people loved the outdoor work, disliked to work for other people, and are located conveniently near the loop to engage in this sort of business.

Many of the downtown stores also drew a large number of Dutch into their employment. Mr. Cooper of Siegel-Cooper & Co. was a Dutch Jew and gave preference to Dutch persons where he could. Mr. John Broekema, for many years one of the managers for Siegel-Cooper & Co., and then for Marshall Field, in whose employ he has been for over a score of years, also did much to give employment to the Dutch. Scores of Dutch people regard him as their best friend, for it was he who always stood ready to employ a Hollander,

no matter how "green" he was, and to him they owe much of their prosperity. As a tribute to Mr. Broekema for what he has done for the Dutch of Chicago he was elected the first honorary member of the Knickerbocker Society.

Among the Dutch of Chicago there have been a few who have established a considerable business. Henry Bosch, who established the wall paper and paint store, was one of the men who followed Rev. De Bey to this country. The Bosch corporation now has a chain of such stores in all the leading cities of the country and has the largest business of its kind in the country. The Vander Kloot Iron foundry was established by another Dutch settler of the 1848 immigration. The Van Vlissingen brothers of the real estate firm by that name came to the Roseland settlement in the sixties, and their first venture was an addition to Roseland. Another Hollander of that emigration started the De Vries Lumber Company on 47th place which is now being run by his sons.

Prominent Holland - American firms and business men in Chicago today are:

H. Hamstra & Co., 6003 Wentworth avenue, importer of Dutch goods.

Wierenga and Ottenhof, real estate, 1837 West Roosevelt road and 7112 South Halsted street.

L. Holstein and Company, 71st and Halsted streets, real estate.

James H. Rook, printer, 732 Federal street.

Teninga Brothers, real estate, Michigan avenue and 113th street.

Wiersema State Bank, 111th street and Michigan avenue.

Boersma Company, clothing and dry goods, 111th street and Michigan avenue.

B. Vellenga, real estate, 11227 Michigan avenue, also the proprietor of the Monarch laundry.

Ten Bruin and Sons, 2044 North Hamlin avenue, horse radish and Dutch mustard.

James De Boer, 147 South Ashland avenue, teaming and coal yard.

R. Huiner, Ashland avenue, teaming contractor.

Wierenga Brothers, 2209 West Harrison street, teaming and hauling contractors.

A. Huizenga and Sons, commission merchant, Randolph street.

IX. SOCIAL AND FAMILY LIFE

THE CHURCHES and the Christian schools are the strongest agencies in keeping the communities together, and are also the greatest agency of social life. The intellectual and social interests of the average Hollander center around the church. Church he attends at least twice every Sunday, and sometimes even three times. During the week

there are catechism classes held at the church, young peoples societies of various sorts, ladies aid societies, entertainments, and so in fact, the church is seldom without some meeting.

The young people go from one church to the other to attend meetings and entertainments. In the summer there are Sunday school picnics, and mission picnics. Indeed the summer holidays are almost invariably celebrated by some church picnic.

There is only one community that is most markedly Dutch, and that is the Ashland avenue settlement. This remains rather more Dutch than the others for several reasons. Here are a handful of Hollanders in a sea of Jews, with whom the Dutch do not mix. Furthermore most of the new immigrants come to this settlement, and this steady stream of immigrants keeps up the Dutch atmosphere.

Within the communities there are provincial groups. The people from the different provinces in Holland speak dialects so distinct from each other that people from one cannot understand the people coming from the other. The people from the same province cling together. In church elections they often vote as a block, often causing no little trouble. With some of the newly arrived immigrants this attitude is carried very far. A Dutch lady was heard to remark about another who did not hail from the same province as her-

self, "She is not a Hollander, she is a stranger." There is even an organization of the Friesians, called the Friesche Gezelschap. The people of the west side colony are almost all Groningers. Most of the people in Englewood are also Groningers, while those in Roseland are for the most part Friesians and North Hollanders.

The Dutch are very industrious and thrifty. Most of them own the houses in which they live. They are land hungry. As soon as they have paid for one house they buy another, and the farmer when he has paid off his mortgage buys more acres. In 1922 the First Christian Reformed church bought a large church from the Lutherans, at a cost of about $85,000 after a few needed repairs had been made. Instead of securing an outside loan the people were asked if they cared to lend money to their own church, the loans to be paid off in installments. Offers to loan the money more than covered the amount needed. The Dutch are never niggardly in supporting their churches. The First Christian Reformed church, the "immigrant church," numbers only 225 families, yet contributes some $25,000 a year toward the support of the church and for charitable causes. In addition to this these 225 families raise $15,000 each year for the support of the Christian school.

The Dutch churches take excellent care of their own needy. The United charities only had nine

cases of Dutch families during a period of eleven months, and none of these families lived in the Dutch communities. They are very hospitable to other people of their own race but not always so to outsiders. The Dutch have indeed often a slightly supercilious air toward other nationalities.

On social questions the Hollander is conservative. He is usually behind his own generation in Holland and this is particularly true of the first and second generations. After that he begins to catch up with his environment. The reason lies in the fact that he has put up walls of church life and of social life in his fear that he will lose his distinctive principles. The non-church group probably assimilate faster, since they are not retarded by church associations, but the people in this group are generally of a lower type. The newer immigration, which comes from the cities, shares more the general character of industrial populations and is more quickly assimilated.

That the Hollander is backward in social questions can be seen from some of the matters before the church synods for discussion. Woman suffrage caused a long and bitter debate. There were many that held that woman suffrage was not scriptural and they wanted a decision from the synod recording its disapproval. In 1916 the Synod of the Christian Reformed church finally decided that this was a political and not an eccle-

siastical question and therefore not in the province of the church. The same discussion ensued in regard to labor unions. There was a group who did not believe that membership in a labor union was compatible with church membership. The world flight group lost. Synod ruled there was no proof that membership in a union was incompatible with membership in the church, but urged those that were members of unions to assert themselves to make the unions Christian, and where possible to organize Christian unions.

The same conservative attitude is manifested toward the divorce problem, which has been a difficult problem to settle. The Synod of the Christian Reformed church asked the Synod of the Christian Reformed church of the Netherlands for advice. The Netherlands Synod advised that the church was duty bound to exercise discipline when church members obtain divorce on any other grounds than those of adultery, or under false pretenses, and must also discipline them when they contract a new marriage, but when "after this sin has been committed and the guilty ones wish to return to the fellowship of the church, the church can only require that this sin be confessed and repentance of the sinful deed be shown."

The Dutch families are usually large, families of eight, nine, or ten are not unusual. They marry young, the newer immigrants often marry at 19 and 20. The young people do not frequent dance

halls, but their social life is centered in the church. The young people meet each other at the Sunday evening church services or at the mid-week meetings. In the Ashland avenue community there is an interesting institution called the "market." After the Sunday evening services the girls walk back and forth between Roosevelt road and Hastings street and Ashland avenue. The young men from all the Dutch communities congregate here and pick out the girl they want. The girls continue their promenade until the young man of their choice comes along. There is not much sowing of wild oats. If they do indulge in a period of this they soon settle down by an early marriage.

It must be said that the Dutch have not been as responsive to educational opportunities as have some of the other peoples. They are too often satisfied with making a comfortable living and owning their own homes.

The first and second generations stick to the foods to which they were accustomed in the old country. Their food is inclined to be heavy, some of their most common foods being Dutch cheese, gray and green peas, and brown beans. The Dutchman is very fond of coffee and it is served on the least occasion. On the farm it is not unusual for coffee to be served five times a day. A lunch between meals is called "coffee time."

Family discipline is often rigid. Fathers often demand that the children hand over their wages

to him until they are eighteen. The boy on the other hand wants to pay board and keep the rest. This is one of the points where friction comes between the parents and the children. The children often also resent the plain food served in the home and desire to leave. Occasionally they rebel agains the whole mental make up of their parents. The church must serve as the emollient. But the pastor is between the devil and the deep blue sea. The parents want him to take their side and if he does he is sure to lose the respect of the children.

The following is taken from a paper written by a young Christian Reformed minister in whose church the friction between parents and children is an actual problem:

"Only if the pastor can manage to instruct the children by medium of the American language in catechism or Sunday school will he preserve the youth of the congregation for the church. But if he cannot manage to do this he is sure to lose a large number of them when they grow older, they will either go to other churches or more often in the cities they will resort to cheap and harmful amusements. There is one consolation here, that the most intelligent are the first and often the only ones that go out.

"The parents do not understand their children. Every critical examination of the ideas and the ideals of the parents by the children the former regard as wilful disobedience and refusal to submit to the parents. Heartaches result. It is one of the most acute problems with which the pastor of the immigrant church has to deal and he has to use great tact in the guidance of both parent and child. Only by personal contact with both parties will he be able to help them. Preaching along this line is mis-

understood. Each party thinks that the pastor is in favor of its side and both condemn him as not being the right kind of a leader."

People coming from the country districts in Holland and thrown into a large industrial city in a strange land often react quite differently. Some shrink within themselves in fear, others let themselves out in complete abandon. The church plays a very different role. It is probably the only institution and influence which can save the immigrant from stark materialism, and yet it cannot but help retard his Americanization and his full participation in the life of his new environment.

However, the Dutch communities do serve to adjust the immigrant to his new surroundings. The adjustment is made more gradual by means of it, and the community serves as a sort of solvent. The immigrant comes in contact with other families who have proceeded further in the adjustment, and from their experiences he learns many valuable lessons.

The writer became personally acquainted with a family which "went to smash" because of lack of harmony between parents and children. The family is Catholic and when it came to this country some twelve years ago it settled on the near North side, and not in a Dutch community. The parents were socially isolated. The children immediately made friends on the streets or in school and were fast growing up with all the attitudes

of American children. But the boys fell in with a gang and got into trouble.

The father wished the boys to go to work as soon as possible. He himself had gone to work when he was eleven years old and he says he remembers how eager he was to hasten home with the first bit of money he had earned in order to hand it over to his mother. The mother of the family speaks much the same way. Her people in the Netherlands are builders of small ships, and the whole family works together in a family enterprise.

The family is composed of the parents and six children of which John, the oldest, is nineteen years of age. He has been caught in hold-ups, convicted of burglaries, and charged with attempting to steal an automobile. He was sent to St. Charles but escaped. He was captured and returned and when at last he was released he joined the navy.

Anton, who is only fifteen, has a very bad record. He has a long series of hold-ups, burglaries, and other offenses charged up against him. He has been released from St. Charles, but the father continues to have much trouble with him. He will not work very steadily. The father wants Anton to hand over all his earnings to him, a small amount to be returned for spending money.

Elizabeth is seventeen. Elizabeth left school when she was fourteen to go to work as an office

girl, and at sixteen she became a telephone operator. The mother complains that Elizabeth goes out with all kinds of fellows; that after talking with one young man on the street, she comes in the house and calls up another young man. This the mother thought outrageous. Elizabeth had a different escort every time she went out. What was worse, a nice young man whom the parents liked, and who called on Elizabeth and took her out riding in a big car, was treated indifferently by Elizabeth. She liked other young men better, especially a "fresh Irish bum." When the mother rebuked Elizabeth for having left the children one night to go out with her beau, she was told to "dry up." Elizabeth and her father also do not get along together. She has left home and is now only an occasional visitor.

The father and mother complain bitterly about family life in this country, saying that the children have no respect for their parents, and a parent gets no profit out of his children. In the Netherlands the children bring all their earnings to the parents and the parents buy the clothes for them, give them spending money, and provide a good home for them. Nor are the young people so scandalous in their courting in the old country. There the girls did not go out with so many different young men in such rapid succession. The father states that he will do anything for the children, even buy pianos and automobiles, if only the

children will hand over their earnings to him faithfully.

Had this family come into a Dutch settlement and then been a member of a protestant church, much of this tragedy might have been averted. As it was the mother and father were completely isolated from the social life in the new world, whereas the children thrown at once and completely into the new world without any such guides as they might have had in a Dutch community.

Some attempts have been made to portray Dutch family and community life in literature, but most of these attempts have failed to present a true picture. The Dutch background of New York has been a rich source of literary material, and has been extensively used ever since Washington Irving. The Dutch in the West have not been as important an element in the life of the country as the Dutch in the East because of their proportionally fewer numbers. Recently, however, there have been a few books using the Dutch communities as background. *Cornelia,* by Lucy Fitch Perkins, has some Dutch color of a very incidental nature. The original of the story is Dr. Cornelia B. De Bey, daughter of the pastor of the First Reformed church, and many of the incidents are taken out of her life, but no serious attempt is made to really portray life in the small Dutch community. *Cornelia* was published in 1919.

Very recently the Dutch south of Chicago are used in a much more serious novel by Edna Ferber. *So Big,* published serially in *The Saturday Evening Post* during 1923 and since published in book form, records the experiences and reactions of an American girl who becomes a teacher in the school at South Holland and later marries a stolid, unimaginative, Dutch truck farmer of the community. It is certain that Miss Ferber has very little direct knowledge of the Dutch. To one who knows the Dutch and the life in the Dutch communities, the book has absolutely no value in so far as it is a serious attempt to portray the life of these settlements. The people are described as going to church with a hymn book, whereas the Dutch are a psalm singing people and the little books they carry to church are psalm books. Sausage and beer are served at a wedding supper. This may be done at a German but never at a Dutch wedding supper. Many names appear in the book with Von. Almost every third Dutch name has a Van in it, but Von is never found in a Dutch name. Von is German and not Dutch. Nor is the language used by the Dutch in the book really "Yankee-Dutch." Miss Ferber makes the Dutch talk like Ghetto Jews. The author pictures a large dance and social held at Ooms' Hall for the purpose of paying for the new church organ. All dancing is looked at askance by the Dutch church people—a dance given by a church group

and to pay for the church organ is quite unthinkable.

An excellent portrayal of the life of the western Dutch communities is found in the novels written by Arnold Mülder. Mr. Mülder is himself a product of the western Michigan settlement and knows them intimately. Mülder's first book, *The Dominie* (minister) *of Harlem,* is probably his best book. It appeared about 1913. Other books of his that use the Dutch settlement life as a background are: *Bram of the Five Corners, The Outbound Road,* and *The Sand Doctor.*

The language that is commonly spoken in the different communities varies. It depends upon the size of the community, and the circumstances of locality and environment. The extraordinary thing is that the Dutch language persists so long. There are Dutch churches in Chicago that are seventy-five years old and still use the Dutch in one or all of the services. This is of course due to continued accessions from the Netherlands. In the rural districts it naturally persists longest. The writer attended a rural public school in the heart of the Michigan settlement and recalls that Dutch was the only language spoken outside of the school room.

But the Dutch commonly used is a corrupt Dutch. This is due to the admixture of Dutch, the various Dutch dialects, and English. The vernacular that results is called "Yankee-Dutch."

A volume of humorous sketches written in this vernacular has been published by Eerdmans-Sevensma Company of Grand Rapids. Dirk Nieland is the author. In public meetings, and especially at church meetings, the Hollander tries desperately to use pure and correct Dutch, but unawares he will slip in his dialect, and then he becomes very much ashamed of himself. Mencken, in the second edition of *The American Language,* has a chapter on the Dutch-English vernacular found in western Michigan.

A very interesting study of the language attainments of the pupils in the Christian schools was made by H. Van Zyl, now professor of education at Calvin college, for the University of Chicago College of Education. The parents of about ninety-five percent of the pupils under investigation were foreign born. One school proved to be up to standard in regard to story value, the other school below it. Pupils in one school were decidedly above standard in language achievements where correct verb usage was concerned. The conclusion reached was that foreign birth seemed to influence story value and form value favorably.

Leading personalities:

James De Boer. (Died March 27, 1924). Mr. De Boer was the leader of the Ashland Avenue settlement. He was for years an elder in the First Christian Reformed church, and later in the Fourth church. He was president of the Union For Christian Schools, president of the Chicago Christian High School board, president of the

Ebenezer Christian School board, and a member of the board of Bethesda Sanitarium at Denver. Mr. De Boer engaged in the trucking and coal and wood business.

Dr. J. Van Lonkhuyzen. Pastor of the First Christian Reformed church and editor of *Onze Toekomst.* Has a considerable influence as a leader in the Christian Reformed denomination.

L. Holstein. Former editor of *Onze Toekomst,* now in the real estate business in Englewood. A member of the board of the Roseland Old Peoples Home. Always a leading spirit in any movement in the Dutch circles.

James A. Van Pernis. (Died February 10, 1925). Managing editor of *Onze Toekomst,* was secretary of the Queen Wilhelmina Album committee. Was a member of the executive committee of the Knickerbocker Society. Probably personally knew more Hollanders in Chicago than any other person.

Hon. John Vennema. Lawyer. Dutch Consul General. Does not live in the Dutch community but as Consul General comes in contact with many Dutch people.

Herman Teninga. (Died in 1925.) Roseland real estater, served as president of the Cook County real estate board, elder in Bethany Reformed church. Probably the most influential person in the Roseland community.

Age Zylstra. Past president of the Roseland Mutual Aid Society, and former secretary of Zelf-Hulp. Was member of Mayor Thompson's cabinet, and is now Republican committeeman for the Ninth Ward.

Gelmer Kuiper. President of the Knickerbocker Society and of the Hope College club. Is chief claim attorney for the Great Western railroad.

Father Van Heertum. Head of the parish of St. Willebrordus church. A leader of the Dutch Catholics in the United States. Was for many years head of the Dutch Catholic college in the Fox River Valley, Wisconsin.

Herman Vanderploeg. Lawyer. (Died in May, 1926.) Secretary of the Holland Building and Loan

association. Helped the Dutch settle many of their cases out of court and has been a most trusted legal advisor.

J. C. Bovenkerk. President of the Boersma Store in Roseland, a leader in Reformed church circles and also in Chicago civic life.

F. Posthuma. Vice Consul, vice-president of the Scholle Furniture Company. Knows many Dutch and takes an interest in things Dutch but does not live in a Dutch community.

James H. Rook. Printer. Served as president of Beverly Hills Improvement association and president of the Ridge Civic Council. While not living in a Dutch community always takes part in any activity in Dutch circles.

X. THE FUTURE OF THE DUTCH COMMUNITIES

The future of the Dutch communities in Chicago, though largely a matter of speculation, can be ascertained with some degree of certainty by weighing the forces that tend to preserve them and those that tend to break them up. There are certain factors that tend to hold the communities together, or at least retard their absorption in the general population, and there are factors that make for the dispersion or break down of these communities, and the question of their future is largely a matter of determining their respective strength.

The greatest factor for the perpetuation of these communities is the church. Most of the Dutch people who remain in these communities

are deeply religious and love their particular church. The church is the center of their intellectual interests as well as of their social and religious life. As was noted under the discussion of the Churches and Religious Life, both the Reformed and Christian Reformed denominations have a rather distinct character. They are both strongly evangelical and Calvinistic, but of the two churches the Christian Reformed church has the more distinctive character. The Christian Reformed church has attempted to retain and develop along its chosen lines and the result is a church body quite different from the usual type of American protestantism. This has developed a strong church consciousness and church loyalty. The Reformed church on the other hand has attempted to become as much like the average American protestant church as possible and has as a result lost much of its distinctive character, and is less able to hold its people.

The next important factor making for the solidarity of the Dutch communities is the Christian School. It helps to develop a group consciousness, makes for community activities, and keeps the children from contacts outside of their own group until about 18 years of age. Parents sending their children to the Christian school naturally want to live near the school. The members of the Christian Reformed church are much more closely concentrated around the church and

school than are the Reformed church people. The membership of the latter is very much dispersed, and some live at great distances from the church. It is only a question of time before these people will drop their connection with the Reformed church altogether. The schools of course also serve to keep the children in the church when they grow older. The Christian school is a powerful factor in holding the community together.

Immigration must also be considered as a very important factor in determining the future of these communities. Under the present immigration laws only a few thousand Dutch people are permitted to enter this country each year. Since 1914 Dutch immigration has been light. The effect of this diminished immigration has had marked effects on the communities. Progress in Americanization has gone on at a very rapid rate. Dutch has been completely dropped in most of the Christian schools, English was adopted in Sunday schools and catechism classes, and several English speaking churches were organized. As immigration practically ceases or becomes negligible, these communities will lose more and more of their Dutch character, and the complete dissolution of the communities be only a matter of time.

Another factor holding the Dutch communities together is the high percentage of home owners among them. The Dutchman is frugal, and always eager to buy his own home. A family not

owning its own home is considered improvident. For this reason the farming communities are considered very stable. People having their money tied up in farms or in houses do not readily move. The South Holland community is already seventy-seven years old, and though not a large community, has as much solidarity as it did fifty years ago. The statistics on home ownership are difficult to obtain but it is significant to note that Grand Rapids, Michigan, with a population over one-third Dutch, stands second in all the cities of the country in the percentage of its people that are home owners.

The size of the community will have a great influence on the rapidity of assimilation. An isolated family is sure to lose its identity much sooner than a family in the midst of a large group, and a small group is sure to become assimilated faster than a large group. The Roseland community is large enough to insure its Dutch character for a long time to come, but the future of the Englewood and West Side communities is much more difficult to determine. The Englewood community has about 3,000 people and there is a strong tendency for people building new homes to locate further south, as well as east and west in a more favorable residential section. The community is becoming more dispersed, and the center of the community is moving southward. The Ashland Avenue community is held together

because of the occupation of most of its people. This has enabled it to remain intact in spite of successive waves of other nationalities which have engulfed it. Not even the Jews nor the negroes have been able to drive them out. This community can, however, remain in its present condition only if it gets fresh accessions from Holland. The second and third generation seeks another method of making a living, a calling higher in the social scale, and moves into the better district to the west. The community tends as a result to spread out more and more, and complete assimilation is only a matter of time.

The many organizations, other than the church societies, must have some influence in keeping the people in the communities, and especially to keep alive their race consciousness. Convenience of location for purposes of attending these meetings, the strength of the associations formed, have a great influence in determining residence.

Dutch journalism, too, exerts an influence to keep alive the group consciousness. The number of readers of Dutch papers, both church and secular, is very large. The church papers intensify church consciousness and church loyalty.

It must also not be forgotten that the Hollander is conservative by nature. He is conservative in his religion, in his social ideals, as well as in politics and in economics. This conservatism

tends to help keep the Dutchman in his group and in his community.

But there are also strong influences working in the opposite direction. One of these is intermarriage with other groups. Some intermarriage with other groups is inevitable in spite of the fact that most of the social life of the people is centered in the community. The remarkable thing is that intermarriages are as few as they are. But they are already frequent in the third generation and are sure to increase with time, with the result that many will in that way be withdrawn from the community.

Secondly, there is a continual draining off at the top. Men and women who rise to a higher social or economic level move to a better residential district. This is especially true of the social climbers. The Dutch communities are not large enough to furnish material sufficient for an exclusive social set. Many families who lived in the Dutch communities at one time can be found in different districts of the city. For a while they continue to attend the churches in the Dutch communities, but the ties gradually loosen, and after a time they cut loose from the community altogether. The writer has met a large number of such cases. The pastor of the First Reformed church told the writer that his church should have at least a hundred more families if it had not lost many in just this way. One Reformed church

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on the west side was disbanded a few years ago because the people were moving out of the district, and the church could no longer support itself. Many of these people undoubtedly left the Reformed church and joined some church in their new neighborhood.

There is also a loss due to people moving out of the city, and this loss is not made up by people from other communities coming into the local settlements. With a change of residence from one city to another the change from the Dutch community to an American is most easily made. Associations are broken anyway, why not make this the occasion for leaving the Dutch community altogether, is the reasoning followed. A large number of people coming from the communities in other states never think of settling in the Dutch communities in Chicago. This is especially true of the younger people. There are scores of such people in Chicago who came originally from the Dutch communities of Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Very few of these people come into direct contact with the Dutch in the communities. They may keep up an acquaintance with an occasional family in the Dutch community, but more often only with some Holland family, who like themselves have left the Dutch community.

The conclusion probably is that the forces making for dissolution are not yet as strong as those making for integration. The smaller communities

it would seem, will be absorbed in the not distant future. The larger ones may retain many of their essential characteristics for many years, like some of the Dutch towns in New York.

The Dutch communities have performed, and are still performing, a valuable service. They serve as a medium for the gradual assimilation of the Dutch immigrants. An immigrant thrown at once into the full stream of American life is bewildered. He is more than likely to throw off those customs and ideals which he ought to retain, and take over those American attitudes which are least desirable. These communities enable him to make his adjustment gradually and with the greatest social economy. They enable the Dutchman to become assimilated without robbing him of his best qualities. And above all, they serve as a temporary depository of Dutch culture in America, and serve as a channel for the Dutch culture to flow into our cosmopolitan cultural stream and so to enrich it.

NOTES
By the Committee on Publication

1. The reason why Rev. De Bey did not succeed in establishing an exclusive Dutch community on a large tract of land was more religious than economic. He came to Chicago with the avowed purpose of bringing all the Hollanders of Chicago, many of whom were formerly his parishioners in the Netherlands, back into the Reformed Church. For that reason also he collaborated with Rev. Zwemer of South Holland (Low Prairie) in writing a book entitled, *Stemmen uit de Gereformeerde Kerk in Noord Amerika.* This book was published by G. J. Reits at Groningen, Netherlands, largely for distribution in Holland. But those people who had formed the Christian Reformed Church refused to return to the church they had left. No pleadings of their former pastor could bring the two bodies together again.

2. This picture is undoubtedly overdrawn. The custom of using cologne and eating peppermint lozenges in church originated in the Netherlands, where some of the older edifices, built centuries ago, were poorly ventilated, making the use of some stimulating scent desirable. And it is worthy of notice that peppermint lozenges were in many instances the only confection those Dutch children ever tasted.

3. Since these lines were written, the Chicago Christian High School has advanced rapidly, perhaps nearly 100% and a new building erected at 71st and May streets, costing more than $200,000.00.

4. To ascertain the reason why the Dutch of Chicago, unlike their kin in Michigan and Iowa, have always been Republican, it should be noted that the Dutch settlement of Chicago dates practically from after the Civil War, and that the sentiment of the people in the Netherlands was unqualifiedly on the side of the North, Abraham Lincoln being considered by them one of the greatest emancipators of modern times and placed in the same category as William of Orange, the "Father of their Country."

5. The editor of the *Inter-Ocean,* here referred to, was Mr. J. Schaap, who occasionally translated editorials from *De Nederlander* into English for publication in the *Inter-Ocean.*

6. This is historically incorrect. Shortly after the World's Fair in 1893 *De Nederlander* was purchased outright by the publisher of *De Grondwet* of Holland, Michigan, and for some time was published as a supplement to *De Grondwet.* The paper organized by the Young People's Union of the Reformed and Christian Reformed Churches was, therefore, not intended to be a continuation of *De Nederlander,* but later, as a matter of course, took the place *De Nederlander* had occupied among the Dutch in Chicago, after the aforesaid supplement to *De Grondwet* had been discontinued.

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